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ABSTRACT

The scheme briefly delineated here is an attempt to solve three important personnel problems in school district administration. How does one (1) evaluate administrators in a decentralized system; (2) clarify and reconcile personal and organizational goals to achieve accountability; and (3) provide detailed feedback on the consequences of administrative behavior in order to encourage change in ineffective behavior. The scheme depends on careful delineation of system goals, and on the annual development of written statements of personal goals by administrators. These are guided by agreement on major functions and by system goals. The statements must provide criteria for measuring achievement. They are discussed in planning sessions and refined and revised until acceptable both to the administrator concerned and the school district representative. The initial implementation revealed some practical difficulties, but more importantly suggested that theories that define organizations as goal-oriented systems are incomplete. Exchange or cooperation-based theories seem to be essential adjuncts. The scheme seems to have some utility. At the very least, it may help administrators drowning in a sea of trivia to identify some high priority activities and allocate their time and effort more rationally than at present. (Author)

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EVALUATING PERFORMANCE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT ADMINISTRATORS:

DEVELOPING A MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVES SCHEME

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A B S T R A C T

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EVALUATING PERFORMANCE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT ADMINISTRATORS:
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This report describes the early stages of a developmental project intended eventually to provide reliable data on the performance of school-based and central office-based administrators in a medium-sized suburban school district in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Although the project is specific to an individual school district, a number of features may be of interest to administrators in other school districts. In particular, some of the limitations of the initial theoretical orientation may be of interest.

In some measure the project is an evaluation scheme, within the definition proposed by the Centre for Study of Evaluation of UCLA, which maintains that educational evaluation is

The process of determining the kinds of decisions that have to be made; selecting, collecting, and analyzing information needed in making these decisions; and then reporting this information to appropriate decision-makers. (Klein, 1971: p.9)

This scheme is intended to facilitate personnel decisions.

However, there are three other extremely important outcomes of the proposed scheme, which is of the management-by-objectives type. Knezevich (1972), in a review of MBO and its applications, has pointed out that there are several forms and sub-types of MBO in use. One is "management-personnel-evaluation-by-objectives" (p. 13). Odiorne (1971) calls this a results-oriented appraisal system, where goals and objectives are stated and replace personality traits as appraisal criteria. This kind of results-oriented managerial appraisal leads very readily to a new approach in which managers, or administrators, make an agreement to pursue certain objectives which are consistent with organizational goals. The organization in effect agrees to evaluate managers on the basis of their success in achieving these objectives. Consequently, one outcome of a

well-conceived MBO scheme is a restatement of job functions in rather concrete form to allow the evaluation of results. The scheme being described has this emphasis, and its helpfulness in the continuing struggle to clarify what administrators actually do, in contrast to what they ought to do, is an important element.

A second important outcome, additional to the provision of evaluation or appraisal data, is the personal reassessment of goals which it is assumed must take place as part of the scheme. One of the traditional weaknesses in organizations has been dissonance between personal goals of members of the organization, and organizational goals (McGregor, 1960). Such dissonance has been in some instances deliberate and intended, but in other instances has been simply a product of ignorance about the goals of the organization. Thus extremely competent workers can be dysfunctional to the organization.

Pride in workmanship is essential, but not as an end in itself. It must be directed to the goals of the organization. Most school administrators are kept very busy, but they may be preoccupied with the wrong things. It is very easy for a person wrapped up in activities to get out of touch with the central purposes of an educational institution...MBO may be a way to minimize such tendencies by switching the focus from activities to results. (Knezevich, 1972: p. 15).

In the past, one of the objections to management-by-objectives schemes has been that they tend to emphasize objectives which are readily quantifiable, and hence distort the overall goals scheme of the organization. Managers or administrators spend disproportionate amounts of time and energy achieving good results on certain rather limited organizational functions, and ignore other very important functions, such as training successors. (See Levinson, 1970, for a full explication of this limitation of MBO schemes). Tying the scheme closely to an overall system of organizational goals and objectives may help limit this goal distortion.

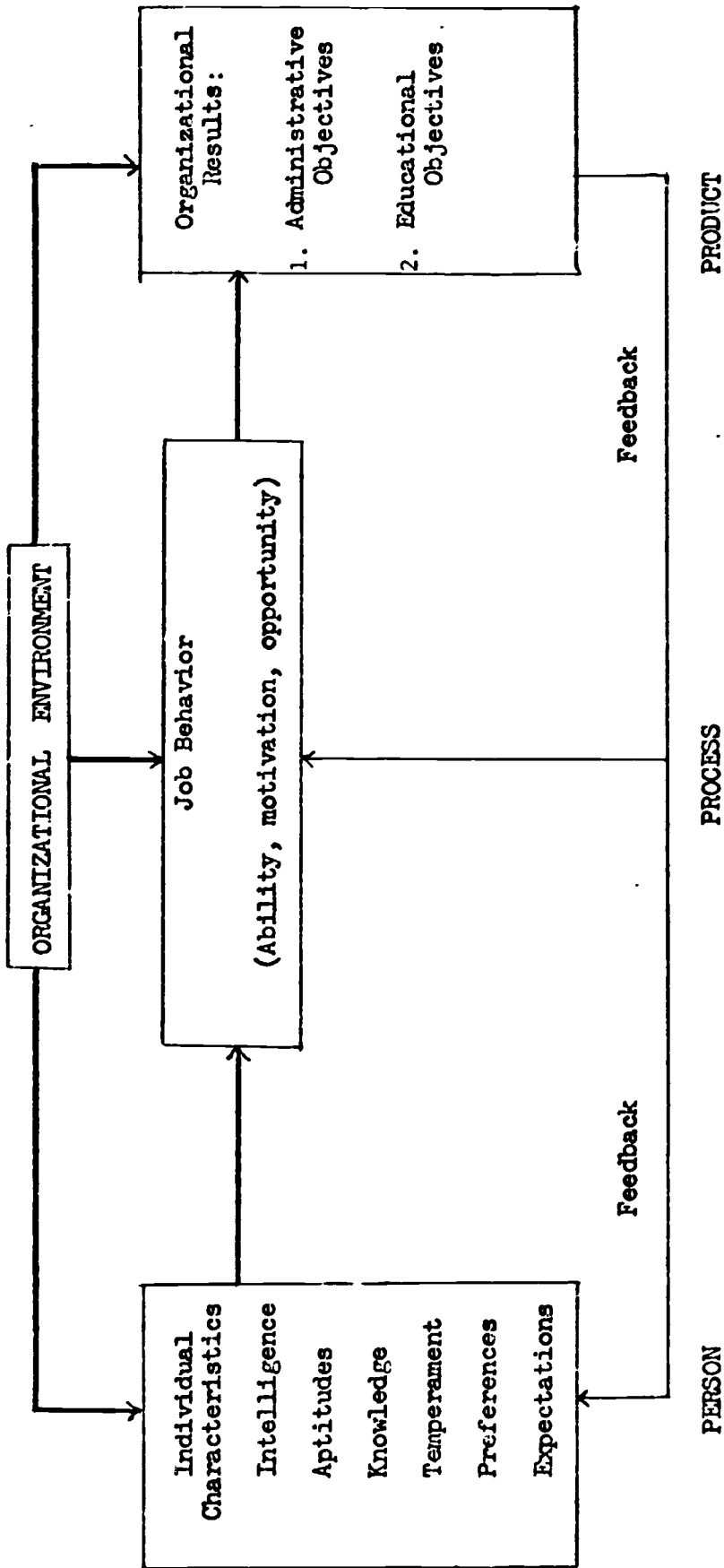
To the extent that a management-by-objectives scheme encourages consideration

of organizational goals in the context of personal goals, or vice-versa, it can provide a very important service for the organization, a service not necessarily tied to its explicit intended outcome of providing reliable performance data for administrators.

A third important outcome is the possibility of changes in administrative behavior. The attached schematic view of the determiners of managerial behavior, drawn from Campbell et al. (1970), suggests the importance of, amongst other things, a knowledge of outcomes for influencing job behavior. In educational administration, where results in a form such as profits are not available, some unambiguous feedback to administrators on the results of at least some of their efforts could well be of major importance in modifying behavior. Relatively little data about the impact of feedback on behavior in educational settings, is available, but what evidence there is, which deals with the effects of feedback from teachers to principals, suggests that behavior does in fact change in desirable ways (Gage, 1972: p. 186).

A good and carefully implemented management-by-objectives scheme can become "a system of planning and control for top management" (Knezevich, 1972: p. 18). As an evaluation system MBO is superior to traditional schemes which have examined traits, and ratings of observed behavior, and have assumed or tried to demonstrate linkages between these; have virtually ignored the organizational environment, including the results desired; and have frequently become merely verbal schemes without behavioral implications (Campbell et al., 1970: p. 10). Additionally an MBO scheme offers an opportunity to reassess organizational purposes, the functions of administrators, the personal goals of administrators, and also makes possible behavioral change based on knowledge of outcomes.

Although MBO schemes are being discussed in educational circles currently, there do not seem to be any ambitious schemes in use. The series of research reports by the National Education Association and the American Association of



School Administrators provides reliable data on what is being done in school districts to evaluate administrators at present. The first survey was able to identify only 45 plans in 1964 after an extensive search. By 1968 there had been some further development in the field. A third survey in 1971 showed that of 154 large districts (25,000 students or more) responding, 84 had formal evaluation systems, and others were planning to introduce them in the next school year.

Some of the schemes described by respondents are of the "performance goals" types, and approximate MBO schemes. Such schemes are becoming more common:

Despite the difficulty of developing and implementing a performance goals procedure, a growing number of systems are adopting it in one form or another - 25% (21 systems) in this survey, as compared with 13% (8 systems) in the 1968 study and only one system in 1964 (NEA, 1971).

The proposal is not then completely new to practitioners. However, detailed accounts of such schemes are rare in the literature of school administration.

The Conceptual & Administrative Context

A number of general assumptions form the conceptual context. The first has to do with the objectives of the scheme proposed here. Recent discussions of MBO schemes and their application tend to emphasize several dimensions of the schemes, rather than simply their usefulness for the evaluation of managers or administrators (Knezevich, 1973). The scheme to be discussed here is a global one, encompassing many important dimensions of administration in organizations, including goals; roles; the selection, development, evaluation and promotion of administrators; and organizational renewal.

The second general assumption deals with implementation. It is accepted as given that evaluation schemes, particularly in education, and particularly as they concern professional personnel, must necessarily be implemented and operated in a way which makes possible the maximum degree of consultation

and involvement of the evaluatees in the scheme. This is, of course one of the basic advantages of the MBO approach, that it does allow the personalization of objectives and goals in consultation with the evaluatee. In the scheme being proposed here this involvement of the evaluatee is carried somewhat further than is typical. The person being evaluated is asked to provide a set of personal objectives, specify ways in which performance will be measured, and state performance standards where necessary.

A third general assumption is that some form of performance appraisal of educational administrators is inevitable (Castetter & Heisler, 1971). In effect what is generally done at present in school districts at its most sophisticated consists of rating sheets which are applied only in a most subjective way. This system, and its weaknesses, will be discussed in more detail later but a 1971 review (NEA) of administrator evaluation in school districts in the U.S. showed that relatively few school districts had even achieved this level of sophistication.

The fourth general assumption has to do with the major objectives and purposes of performance appraisal systems in modern administration. In general the view taken here is that "performance appraisal is being considered as a means of personnel development. Performance appraisal is not something an administrator does to but for a subordinate" (Castetter & Heisler, 1971: p. 5). This view is consistent with the general approach to MBO taken here; the MBO system is intended to assist administrators to develop and understand the goals of the organization, their personal goals and objectives, their role in the organization, their responsibilities and functions in the organization, and the way in which their performance of those functions is to be measured. From this point of view the whole MBO scheme is an information scheme intended to assist administrators in self-development as well as to provide performance appraisal data to an evaluator.

The final assumption is again provided by Castetter & Heisler. They point out that one of the major changes in organizations recently is their tendency to adopt a somewhat different view of the nature of man. Maslow's hierarchy of needs, "participatory democracy", and T-groups, on this view, are all evidence of what Bennis considers to be a new set of organizational values, which could be summed up in the term "humanistic organizations" (Bennis, 1969: p. 148). As Castetter and Heisler point out, "the essence of an appraisal system is its assumptions about the nature of man" (1971: p. 12). The fundamental assumption of this system is probably that men are capable of reconciling goals of various origins and kinds into a rationale for guiding behavior.

The situational constraint is as important as the assumptions already described. The school district for which this scheme is being developed has already undergone a considerable degree of decentralization, with the administrators of individual schools having accepted very extensive responsibilities, thus making the individual attendance unit quite autonomous within the school district.

The type and extent of decentralization has had a substantial power-equalizing effect, since school administrators are allocated resources both of staff and money, on a formula basis. Hence every school principal has much greater resources available to him than central office staff. This power equalization has important implications in, for example, the goal-setting discussions to be described later.

Given this background of decentralization, the problem of management becomes quite critical. If the autonomous operational units have been given very large responsibilities and considerable authority, on what basis can the school board or central office administrators hold school administrators accountable for the achievements of schools? Although bureaucratic systems and decentralization are not incompatible (Mansfield, 1973), some different

form of accountability seems appropriate, and a common answer in contemporary practice is to hold units responsible for results, carefully specified.

The context described here has the effect, of course, of limiting the generalizability of the scheme described. As an evaluation system, it is to some extent situation-specific, and would hardly be useful or necessary in a more centralized system.

The Objectives of the Organization

Because of the high degree of decentralization existing at present in the school district, there are two important contexts in which objectives could be discussed, district and school. Since the district context is vital to understanding the school objectives, and since space limitations will only allow a limited number of illustrations of objectives, only the district objectives will be treated in detail here.

There are in each context two types of objectives. The fundamental and unique objectives are the educational ones, which have been developed for the guidance of the personnel of the school system. These educational goals were selected using the Phi Delta Kappan materials which are becoming familiar to educators (Spears, 1973):

1. Develop skills in reading, writing, speaking and listening.
2. Learn how to examine and use information.
3. Gain a general education.
4. Develop a desire for learning now and in the future.
5. Develop pride in work and a feeling of self-worth.
6. Develop good character and self-respect.
7. Learn to respect and get along with people with whom we work and live.

The shortened forms are used here. These represent goals for the system which are quite characteristically educational, and distinguish the school system from other kinds of organizations, and also from other school districts, since it is not very likely that other school districts would have precisely the same set of educational objectives.

The second set of objectives is very much more general. In fact it is claimed that these objectives, to be called organizational purposes, are common to all organizations, whatever the field of activity.

Organizations aim at (1) satisfying human interests, of both members and nonmembers, by (2) producing services or goods with (3) an efficient use of scarce inputs, by (4) investing in their own viability, (5) mobilizing the resources needed as inputs, and doing all these things (6) in conformance with certain codes of behavior, and (7) in a rational manner (Gross, 1964: p. 480).

The "matrix of purposes" proposed by Gross and adopted here also "includes within it all possible criteria that may be used for the evaluation of performance" (Gross, 1964: p. 482). An illustration of how the matrix of purposes could be applied to educational organizations has been provided by the writer previously (Coleman, 1972a). (A terminological point: the general term used will be objectives; the objectives of the organization will be called "organizational purposes", and the educational objectives will be called "educational goals".)

The utility of establishing two different sets of objectives, and thus holding administrators responsible for two dimensions of accountability, might well be challenged. However, this approach is consistent with the dual role of "educational administrators", which is implicit in that title - they are both educators and administrators. (See Coleman, 1972b, for a fuller discussion.)

The chart shows how Gross's general matrix of purposes for organizations can be applied specifically to a particular organization. At the top level of the matrix, the satisfaction of human interests, the general notion has been translated into more specific terms, that is the set of seven educational goals of the school division.

At the second level, the provision of services, the general notion has been translated into a set of educational programs, which relate to the general goals of education in the school division. In some cases the programs relate directly and specifically, for example language arts programs in respect to the general goals of developing reading, writing, speaking and listening skills, and in some cases the programs relate only rather vaguely to specific educational goals. It is anticipated that one outcome of the MBO scheme will be a more intensive investigation and review of program objectives, in the light of the general human interests being served, that is the educational goals of the school division. The second class of services provided at this level is instructional services.

At the third level, utilization of resources, the application of the general model results in some central questions about the ways in which the resources of student time, teacher time, space and facilities, and funds available to school administrators are used. Such questions are essentially budget-type questions, in that they focus on the efficient use of scarce resources. The utilization of teacher time and student time in such a context is relatively uncommon in education, but seems justifiable. (See for example, Noah, 1970).

It is clear that the units of analysis used here, pupil time, teacher time, use of facilities and money are not independent. A more rigorous cost-effectiveness analysis would perhaps suggest there are only basically two kinds of inputs into the public school system, pupils and money. (See for example, Swanson, 1971.) However, for the purposes for which this analysis

A MATRIX OF PURPOSES FOR A SCHOOL DIVISION

ORGANIZATIONAL PURPOSES (hierarchically ranked)

A. Satisfaction of Human Interests (OUTPUT)	GOALS	INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS	
		1. Development skills in reading, writing, speaking and listening; 2. Learn how to examine and use information; 3. Gain a general education; and 4. Develop a desire for learning now and in the future.	PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS 5. Develop pride in work and a feeling of self-worth; 6. Develop good character and self-respect; and 7. Learn to respect and get along with people with whom we work and live.
B. Production of Services (OUTPUT)	PROGRAMS	1. Provision of satisfactory programs which assist growth in cognitive and affective areas specified in program objectives and meet needs. 2. Development, implementation, evaluation, and review of programs capable of achieving educational goals.	
	INSTRUCTION	1. Provision of instruction which maximizes student growth in cognitive and affective areas. 2. Development of teachers' instructional capabilities and effectiveness.	
	ADMINISTRATION	1. Provision of administrative services which assist in defining goals and purposes, and in achieving them once defined.	
	PUPIL TIME	Optimum distribution of pupil time to maximize development. Requires assessment of strengths and weakness to guide placement. In upper grades, can be provided via options.	
C. Efficiency of Resource use (INPUT)	TEACHER TIME	1. Optimum utilization of professional time, with maximum allocated to professional functions, minimum allocated to non-professional functions. 2. Optimum match between teacher characteristics and student placement, with regard to students, subject area, and school.	
	USE OF FACILITIES	Optimum utilization of school facilities, day and evening.	

	USE OF FUNDS	Optimum utilization of school budget.
D. Investment in Viability (INPUT)	PUPIL PARTICIPATION	Optimum levels of pupil participation in every aspect of school life.
	TEACHER COMMITMENT	Optimum levels of commitment by teachers to meeting pupil needs, performing assigned tasks, and voluntary contributions to achieving school goals.
	ADMINISTRATOR COMMITMENT	Optimum levels of administrator commitment to the educational goals and organizational purposes of the division.
E. Mobilization of Resources (INPUT)	OPERATING RESOURCES	Optimum levels of financial and professional support.
	COMMUNITY SUPPORT	Optimum levels of community involvement in and approval of school activities.
F. Observance of Codes (PROCESS)	LEGAL REQUIREMENTS	Organization functions in accordance with statutes and regulations.
	DIVISION POLICY AND REGULATIONS	Organization functions in accordance with Divisional policies and regulations.
	UNWRITTEN CODES	Organization functions in accordance with unwritten codes such as standards of professional practice, "due process", "natural justice", and others.
G. Rationality (PROCESS)	ADEQUATE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES	Satisfactory system of decision-making Satisfactory internal communication system.
	TECHNICAL ELEMENTS	Satisfactory records kept and utilized. Simple and thoroughly understood operating procedures.

is being used, it is not destructive to consider four types of variables as being important to school administrators, and hence as being fundamental to estimating the way in which they make cost-effectiveness decisions.

The vital components in the organizational purpose of viability seem to be two: client participation and member commitment. The first of these, for service agencies like schools, is vital. Without clients the organization cannot survive. The traditional way of ensuring a continuing supply of clients has been to develop the school as a "total institution" in which the client's ability to opt out is highly limited by various codes. (For more detailed treatment of total institutions, see Goffman, 1969.) There are at present however two significant limitations upon the school's ability to function as a "total institution": first, the fairly common school district policy of "open boundaries"; second, the ability of students to opt out completely either temporarily or permanently, that is to be absent, or to drop out of the institution. Attendance laws are becoming impossible to enforce, and the necessity for the school to achieve high participation levels, both physically and psychologically, on the basis of merit rather than legislation, is becoming increasingly obvious.

The second component in this purpose, member commitment, refers to the relative commitment of staff members to the school. This again can be reflected in absences or transfers, or can be measured in terms of job satisfaction. The analysis and measurement of commitment to jobs or assignments has a long history in organizational research, and is a fairly well-understood phenomenon.

The three remaining levels of the matrix are relatively simple, and need not be discussed in detail. The chart proposes very general goals and purposes, both educational and organizational. It is clear the attempts to measure performance with regard to these will face great difficulties.

With regard to organizational purposes, much more specific sub-objectives are necessary, to permit measurement. In general these will be arrived at in the most critical phase of implementation of an MBO scheme, the setting by administrators of personal objectives. It is during this phase that the fundamental value of an MBO scheme may become obvious: for both the organization and the administrators in it, it is a systematic way of coping with uncertainty about the functions to be carried out by people whose roles are complex. If "uncertainty appears as the fundamental problem for complex organizations and coping with uncertainty is the essence of the administrative process" (Thompson, 1967), then the MBO system can be seen as a fundamental administrative tool, and a systematic way of coping with one major area of uncertainty in complex organizations, that is "who does what and how well, and how does it relate to the purposes of the organization?"

The Accountability of Administrators

The dual system of objectives, and the two contexts for objectives, divisional and school, produce some complications both for conceptualizing and for implementing the MBO scheme. However, they do help to solve a very difficult problem which is often ignored in considerations of educational accountability: it is essential for people to be able to affect outcomes if they are to be held accountable for them. (See, for example, Barro, 1970). There is now a good deal of evidence that teachers have some impact on the learning of students but that it is relatively small and extremely difficult to measure. (See, for example, the recent assessment in Do Teachers Make a Difference? 1970).

Precisely what administrators can be held accountable for may be derivable from a general formulation of the functions of school administrators which has been provided by the writer in another context. This maintains that

the concerns of the school administrators are, or are becoming, concerns with purpose, coordination, and interchange with the environment (1972b).

Alternatively, the dimensions of administrative accountability can be derived from the experience of practicing administrators in the light of expectations which have been established in a particular work setting. Such as environmentally-conscious technique is more in keeping with the model of managerial behavior developed by Campbell et al. (see p.4) and may be more productive when the stage of setting personal goals is reached.

The list of functions of school administrators given here was elicited from school district principals by an open-ended survey, ranked by a second survey, and discussed several times to ensure mutual understanding. It was finally accepted unanimously as a reasonable general formulation. The functions are:

1. Teacher Supervision and Development
Evaluating and assisting teachers to improve instruction.
2. Curriculum Supervision and Development
Organizing and improving instructional programs.
3. Developing Commitment
Creating enthusiasm and commitment amongst staff and students to the objectives of the school.
4. Pupil Personnel Administration
Ensure and facilitate the guidance and assistance of students.
5. Public Relations
Communication with the school's public regarding school objectives and programs.
6. School Management
Budget and facilities, record-keeping, supervising non-professional staff, and other minor administrative work.

These two analyses of the functions of school administrators, the first developed out of the training literature, and the second based on the experience of practitioners in the school division, are very closely related to the matrix of purposes in the chart presented earlier. However, the matrix is more

definite and reveals the relationship between functions and goals rather clearly. Thus it serves to place the functions of administrators in an accountability framework. The framework remains general, and without specific relevance to the goals of individuals. However, because of the close relationship between the matrix and the functions which the practitioners themselves feel are appropriate and important, the development of personal objectives, consistent with organizational objectives, can be facilitated. Analyses of the functions of administrators in terms of the matrix of purposes then become a fundamental tool in accountability, and set the stage for developing personal objectives.

Space limitations do not allow the presentation of a full set of general functions or a set of personal objectives, stated in terms of the matrix of purposes. An illustration of one element can be provided, however. The element chosen is D. Investment in Viability, TEACHER COMMITMENT. The organizational purpose stated in the chart became a statement of general administrator function: "to ensure that teachers achieve high levels of job satisfaction, and as a consequence high levels of commitment to the school and its goals."

In turn, this resulted in a personal objectives of the Superintendent for the 1973-1974 school year: "to attempt to identify the relative satisfaction or dissatisfaction of teachers in the Division, and their causes, via a survey." The performance indicator was a simple yes/no one: "Has a survey been conducted and analyzed?" Hindsight would suggest that a quantitative statement would have been more appropriate.

The year-end report of the Superintendent to the Board contained this reference to the objective:

An extensive survey was conducted, and analyzed divisionally and school by school. Appendix A gives the questions and the

responses, divisionally and by school. By and large satisfaction seems relatively high, but on some issues, and at some schools, there are difficulties which will be reflected in the MBO schemes of myself and individual principals for the 1974-1975 school year. This objective has been achieved.

In two areas some widespread dissatisfaction showed up. These items will be discussed later.

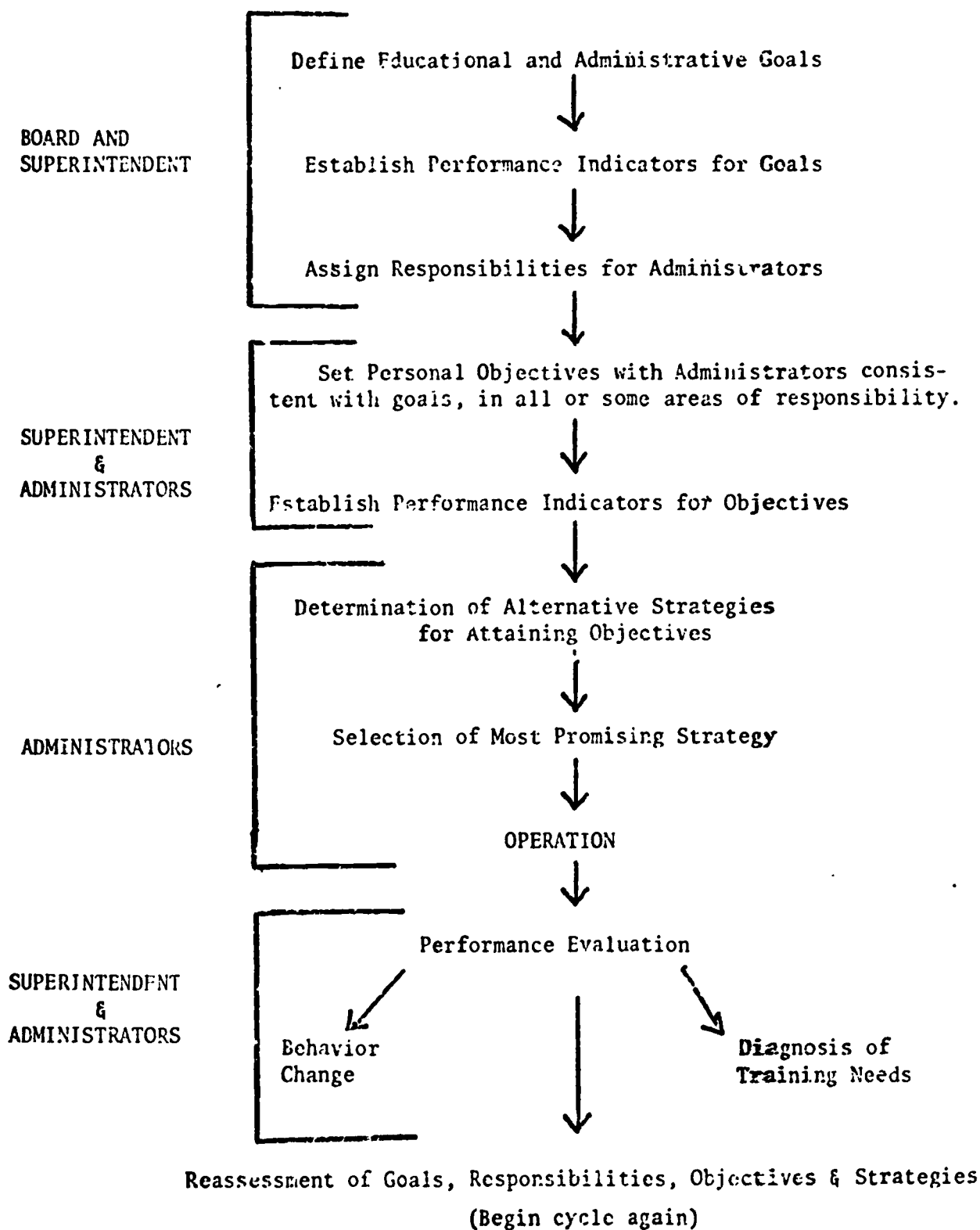
As conceived, the scheme does then provide for a clear statement of accountability, and allows individual administrators, through the setting of personal objectives, to propose the particular activities for which they are to be held accountable in a given evaluation cycle. At the end of the cycle, it allows both the administrator and his supervisor (in the case of the superintendent the Board of Trustees) to assess performance, and arrive at some agreement as to what was attempted for the year, and with what degree of success.

Implementing the MBO Scheme

The attached chart suggests an implementation model for an MBO scheme, which at least in general terms is currently guiding the development of the scheme. The setting of personal objectives is the critical aspect of the scheme and opponents of MBO schemes, such as Hacker (1971) and Levinson (1970), tend to focus on this aspect. Hacker notes that where an MBO program requires the negotiation of goals between the employee and his supervisor, "it is patently irrational for the subordinate to maximize his risks by accepting challenging goals " (p. 1). Levinson, on the other hand, maintains that the goal setting exercise allows management to treat employees like pawns, with severe psychological effects. Clearly the setting of objectives is for both parties a risky business.

However, this aspect of the scheme is also a major advantage, since by

IMPLEMENTING AND OPERATING AN MBO SCHEME IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF A SCHOOL DIVISION



Based on Knezevich (1972).

considering personal goals of administrators the MBO scheme assists administrators to define their own functions, at least in part.

The leader can perform no more effective service in attempting to guide and motivate subordinates than to help orient individuals to the content and context of their roles. The superior's responsibility to each subordinate is to help him to understand the expectations of the position, those of the unit, and those of the entire school system. An individual is more secure if he understands what is expected of him, how he is expected to accomplish it, and how his performance will be assessed. (Castetter & Heisler, 1971: p. 41)

Odiorne (1965: pp. 65-79) makes a somewhat similar point about MBO schemes, but emphasizes the changed basis for the relationship between superior and subordinate. The subordinate assumes personal responsibility for his own performance, measured against clearly understood goals. The superior assumes a helping rather than a controlling stance, and seeks ways of assisting the subordinate achieve his personal goals, and hence the desired results for the organization.

Some reduction of the risks, without eliminating the benefits, may be achieved by two strategies, first, a continuing emphasis on vital organization goals, of which both parties acknowledge the importance, and second an acceptance of a kind of statute of limitations, a joint agreement that only some objectives can be pursued in any particular time span with great vigour. Redfern describes this as "establishing a realistic number of performance targets upon which to base concentrated effort in a given period of time " (1972: p. 86).

The reconciliation of conflict between organizational and individual goals requires first an acceptance of organization goals, and second overcoming reluctance to state individual goals. A good many personal goals are held implicitly and never stated explicitly. Some subtlety in the identification of implicit goals, and in the reconciliation of organizational and personal goals, as well as a measure of mutual trust, are necessary elements in the goal-setting process.

It may also be necessary to wait through one evaluation cycle before being able to identify the implicit goals of individuals. Thus the evaluator might have also to determine, subsequent to the evaluation cycle, what the real as opposed to the stated personal goals of individual administrators were, based on an assessment of the direction of the efforts of the administrator. In the second cycle it will presumably be possible to bring new goals into explicit form.

Naturally exactly the same comments apply to the stated organizational goals. They may well have to be modified subsequently. In part this scheme can then be seen as a continuing goal identification exercise. In a critique of rationalistic organizational theories, March suggests that evaluation can be an occasion for discovering values:

...the evaluation of social experiments need not be in terms of the degree to which they have fulfilled our a priori expectations. Rather we can examine what they did in terms of what we now believe to be important. The prior specification of criteria and the prior specification of evaluational procedures that depend on such criteria are common presumptions in contemporary social policy making. They are presumptions that inhibit the serendipitous discovery of new criteria. Experience should be used explicitly as an occasion for evaluating our values as well as our actions (1972: p. 428).

The fact that neither the organizational nor the personal goals may all be explicit at the beginning of the exercise of setting personal objectives, that there may be some irreconcilable differences between organizational and personal goals, that high risk for individuals exists in any setting of personal objectives, and the unfamiliarity of the whole exercise, may well make the first cycle virtually unusable for any kind of administrative decision-making.

The final stage of implementation and operation in the model, the performance evaluation phase, will also certainly present difficulties in the first cycle. First, with regard to process, it is clear that the

evaluation phase will be at least as demanding and difficult psychologically as the process of setting personal objectives. The process must almost certainly involve a self-appraisal, as well as an appraisal by the administrators's supervisor. (See Castetter & Heisler, 1971: p. 48). The whole process could be characterized as a mutual enquiry into the level of performance and the factors affecting it.

Some of these factors affecting the performance of the administrators, as analyzed in the model on page 4, insofar as they are aspects of the organizational environment, are of course outside the control of the individual administrator. These factors may operate, in aggregate, to facilitate or inhibit the administrator's achievement of his objectives. Some attempt must be made, as part of the evaluation process, to assess this overall impact. Consideration of other factors, within the control of the administrator, will probably emphasize two outcomes, predicted in the implementation flow-chart on p.18: behavior change for the next cycle as a result of knowledge of outcomes of the present cycle; and a diagnosis of the training required to facilitate such change. Such training could emphasize knowledge, skills, motivation, attitudinal change, or any mix deemed acceptable by both supervisor and administrator.

Outcomes and Reconsiderations

Although the MBO scheme is of recent origin in the district, and the first full cycle is only just being completed, some outcomes are already apparent. The most important of these has to do with two items identified as top priority functions of school administrators; teacher development and program development.

With a few exceptions, school administrators showed a reluctance to adopt developmental objectives in these areas. The divisional analysis of the extent of teacher satisfaction and its positive and negative elements

already referred to showed that the most unsatisfactory aspects of professional life in the division were teacher evaluation practices and professional developmental opportunities.

As a consequence of obvious administrator uneasiness and teacher concern several things have happened. Workshops have been provided on methods of observing classroom practice, on teacher self-appraisal systems, and on supervision methods using Popham's "Systematic and Objective Analysis of Instruction."

Concurrently, a set of rather careful guidelines on teacher evaluation procedures has been formulated by administrators and teachers. These incorporate a developmental notion of supervision consistent with the Popham approach. Additionally, as a consequent of the program development interests of several elementary administrators interested in Individually Guided Education approaches, a series of workshops on IGE and especially on the Wisconsin Design for Reading Skill Development has been held.

All of this activity, in the two main areas of the professional program development, has also led to an ancillary activity, the development of a teacher centre (see Coleman, 1975, for a description). Hence, one could conclude that one of the most important outcomes of the MBO scheme to date had been the identification of certain needs which were not being met by divisional authorities, specifically the provision of policy and resource support for school administrators in teacher and program development.

Thus it is possible to conclude that the MBO scheme to date has focussed attention on purposes, including some relatively neglected but important ones, has had the effect of helping to clarify personal goals, and has assisted in the reconciliation of personal and organizational purposes. These are useful outcomes.

At this point in the development of the MBO scheme it is probably impossible to identify any usable outcomes with respect to the evaluation of administrative performance. However, it has become clear that some administrators have been satisfied with maintenance activities, and school management achievements, to the exclusion of concerns with important functions.

In addition to these outcomes, progress to date has led to a reconsideration of the theoretical basis for the scheme, and particularly the simple goal paradigm underlying the original conception. It now seems clear that another paradigm is needed. A number of observers have noted the importance of exchange or barter theories in explaining the workings of contemporary organizations. The exchange paradigm can supplement the goal paradigm. Without a theory of goals, the origins of organizations cannot be explained; without an exchange, or incentive theory, the continuity cannot be explained.

Thus it seems that Levinson is correct in raising the issue of power in his critique of management by objectives models. Power in organizations is needed to effect compliance, that is to ensure that members contribute their share towards meeting the needs of the organization and thus achieving its goals. In traditional bureaucratic theory, hierarchical authority and fixed rules ensured compliance; in contemporary organizations, especially those with decentralized decision-making and consequently a substantial measure of power equalization, compliance is more commonly obtained through exchanges. Levinson labels the process of mutual need and expectation satisfaction, "reciprocation" (1968: p. 21).

Georgiou states a similar view:

Power is regarded not as a relationship between contributors

and the organization, but as a relationship between contributors. The possession of power is a function of the capacity of an individual to contribute incentives to one or many, or even all of the other contributors to the organization. Both the exchange of incentives and the possession of power are evident throughout the organization, every individual having some power because he contributes to the satisfaction of someone else's wants (1973: p. 306).

This notion leads Georgiou to the view that organizational goals are not in fact those of any individual or any group. Because there is mutual dependency in achieving goals there must also necessarily be a bargaining process in establishing the actual, as opposed to the formal, goals of the organization. This of course is particularly true in decentralized organizations, where substantial power-equalization has taken place. The decentralization in the school district then can be seen as an essential prerequisite to a viable MBO scheme.

Georgiou's description of the exchange paradigm concludes

The essential thrust of the counter paradigm is that the emergence of organizations, their structure of roles, division of labor, and distribution of power, as well as their maintenance, change, and dissolution can best be understood as outcomes of the complex exchanges between individuals pursuing a diversity of goals (1973: p. 308)

Certainly the MBO scheme has, to date, had a substantial effect in helping administrators see the school district in this light. At an early meeting when the objectives of the Superintendent were being presented, one of the school administrators commented, in unmistakable surprise, "But your objective four is dependent on us." Whether labelled "reciprocation" or "exchange" such interdependence is clearly a feature of contemporary humanistic organizations, to use again the Bennis characterization.

The major outcomes of the MBO scheme to date then have been unrelated to administrator evaluation. However, the scheme has made a substantial contribution to the clarification of goals and purposes, and to administrator understanding of the subtler implications of decentralization in the district.

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